ethnic groups in the same region, the Boulou subjects being classed first on these points among the Pahouin tribes. Intelligence tests and mental-age evaluations made among school children and lycée students gave similar results in comparison with Africans of the same age. On the other hand, a comparison with European children living in the Cameroons showed a certain inferiority, from which it is still impossible to draw definitive conclusions because of the scarcity of "culture-free tests" used at the time. Projective tests administered under the same conditions revealed schizoid tendencies with rather marked aggression and a fairly high frequency of the Oedipus fixation with some transference /assimilation/ from father to white man. The difference in level from neighboring tribes was less clear among the lycée students than among school children, and less clear among the latter than among the laborers at Edéa. It must be emphasized that these tests, especially the projective ones, involved a limited number of persons in particular situations outside the village milieu, that remains the background of the majority of their fellow tribesmen. I am not acquainted with the results of later research.

With regard to social psychology, we are also largely restricted to subjective evaluations in the same class as those mentioned at the beginning of this section. Allégret a half century ago remarked upon a defeatism more bitter since the Fang had come in contact with Europeans, and certain legends reported by Trilles and Largeau on the Jacob and Esau theme, with the white man in the role of the usurping younger brother, go some way to confirming this. Balandier has given a good description of contemporary expressions of this feeling of collective frustration, both in his Sociologie actuelle and in various articles, one of them with the significant title, "Les Fang, conquérants en disponibilité" /The Fang, Unattached Conquerors/, (nos. 175 and 173).

One striking trait, also emphasized by Balandier, is that of collective mistrust of successful persons. This may appear to contradict the previous statement about Pahouin individualism, but in fact it is precisely /90/ this individualism that produces a good share of the suspicion of the other individual (cf. in Ezo Boto, Ville cruelle, no. 182, the reactions of the hero Banda vis-à-vis the rebel Koumé).

We must also point out the psychological and social importance of akum, wealth, and of bîom, possessions, especially imported possessions. Combined with the as yet little-studied concept of the

relations between the sexes, this emphasis to a great extent explains why no true peasantry has developed, but rather a class of nonpeasant planters, comparable in the last analysis to some of the European settlers. The Pahouin remain very much strangers and travelers on the land, whence the importance of personal property (in the legal sense) in their eyes. Nevertheless, a further development is in the making in this connection—described above (p. 96) which is leading to a strengthening of land ownership, /so that/ certain collective reactions in the way of procedure concerning land and domain suggest that we are witnessing, at least in the Cameroons, a genuine putting down of roots.

Tribal pride is still considerable, to the point of hostility between different branches of the group, but ethnic cohesion is found vis-à-vis outsiders and gives real unity to the Pahouin as a solid group.

2. The Individual Life Cycle

a. Conception, Gestation, Birth

A woman is considered pregnant, a nyoñeya abum, she has got a belly, when she has passed through four menstrual cycles, a nji yene ngon, without seeing the moon. Conception is supposed to be the result of the mixture of sperm, meyôm (with the same root as nnôm, pl. beyôm = male) and of menstrual blood, metyi me ngon, girl's blood or lunar blood; the length of pregnancy is calculated from the date when the last menstruation should have begun. Nowadays a pregnancy of nine months is considered normal, but some of my informants mentioned normal terms of eight or ten ngon (lit., moon or girl), a word that can as well refer to a calendar month as to a lunar month or a menstrual cycle. It is difficult for a man to obtain more precise information on this point since the subject is restricted to women. Besides, longer pregnancies are considered possible, though sometimes suspect; amenorrhea due to a fibroid growth is a proof of sorcery, the tumor being considered an évu. The fetus (for which the term is secret, forbidden, étyi, in any case for men, and probably for women uninitiated into mevungu) is thought at the beginning of gestation to take the form of a lizard, like the first man at the moment of the creation /of the universe/.